2: Schaden--227 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/178 cont./

273 828 /footnote 10 cont./ wants to feel warm." I observed an exception to the general rule, which is to drink as long as one can or as long as there is liquor, in a Mbüá of Rio Branco, who, after three or four little glasses of liquor at the shop of Evangelista de Souza, showed some energy: "What I wanted to drink I have already drunk. Now it is good." Almost all, however, are overcome by apathy and do not react.

[184 648 797] Among the Nandéva and Kayová of Dourados, in spite of the vigilance exerted by the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the influence of the Protestant mission, it happens that the proceeds from the chânga /wage labor/ is spent on drink, sometimes in one night the earnings of a whole week or more of work. On the following day there is no manifestation of regret or even of discontent, unless drunkenness has become generalized in the village, women and children participating in it, cases in which there are "misunderstandings" with regard to the wives of other men in the course of the drunkenness and the subsequent fights, not infrequently very violent ones. It is to be noted there, by the way, that the older Indians have less inclination toward the use of aguardiente than the younger ones; they are induced to drink by the latter, sometimes drawn in by their own children. There are feasts, anniversaries and others, that are reduced to serenades with liquor, becoming drunk with a great hubbub, even children three and four years old. And at the chicha feasts the Kayová sometimes add some bottles of liquor to the traditional drink.

[529 855]

273 182 177 There seems to be no doubt but that alcoholism reflects the state of cultural poverty, supplying a

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 476 the various extended families that comprised a settlement.[148] The *puhirão* afforded pleasure and the solidarity of assisting, as well as the assurance that when the participants in turn wanted help, it would be forthcoming. But

> The *muchirão* [*puhirão*] is not properly aid, an act of salvation, or a mission of mercy; it is rather a gesture of friendship, an excuse for a let-up of one's labors, a very attractive form of cooperation [not "cooperation" in our definition here] in order to accomplish rapidly a piece of agricultural work.[149]

Today there is something less than universal agreement about the merits of the *puhirão* and something less then total participation by all individuals in the village.[150] Some individuals say that *puhirão* work is not good and that they prefer to do their own work; then at least they will have it well done, though it necessarily takes more time. Others say that the *puhirão* "costs too much," referring primarily to the corn or other ingredients necessary to make the *cãuí*, which is traditionally served to those who help. Today, also, it is partly the prestige derived by those who give big drinking fest-dances and provide [574] their fellows large quantities of *cãuí* that keeps the *puhirão* alive. However, this is not to suggest that the *puhirão* is a heavy burden in all respects. Some persons who have frequent recourse to the *puhirão* for work manage very well economically, have large *kokué*, and are not handicapped in doing their outside [527] *changa* work for Brazilian *patrões*. Some can afford to be the hosts at large, all-village dances and drinking fests on Saturday nights, and in this activity they vie with each other to serve more *cãuí* to their fellow villagers than ever before.[151] Nor is the large-scale *puhirão* the only type; small work parties without village-wide drinking fests are very frequent. In other words, in the purely economic sense, the *puhirão* apparently works well for some individuals, while for others it works only moderately well. Still others never give *puhirão*.

Following Mead's distinction, participation in the *puhirão*, while certainly collective, is not cooperation but rather only helpfulness. The distinction is

---

[148] Possibly this function is somehow reminiscent of the *"grupos de trabalho"* (work groups) which Baldus (1937, pp. 86–112) has recognized among the Tapirapé.

[149] Ayrosa, quoted in Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 157. The varying orthography of the word *puhirão-muchirão* is probably to be explained on the basis of the Tupí-Guaraní consonant "mb" of many dialects. Also, of course, this word itself varied in other respects from one dialect to another.

[150] It is true, of course, that the *puhirão* may also previously have had some of the character of the optional; the facts are unknown. Perhaps the difference on this point, if any, between the past and the present is one of degree and not of kind.

[151] Hence, perhaps the enormous wooden trough for *cãuí*, mentioned *supra*, p. 30. There [273] is probably some relation of this vieing to give large drinking fests and the increased agricultural [433] surplus that has become more and more evident with the expansion of agriculture since aboriginal times. The manufacture of *cãuí* is, after all, based largely upon agriculture, since *kokué* crops are the ingredients now used—corn, potatoes, manioc, in that order of importance. An agricultural increase might thus favorably affect the consumption of *cãuí*.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 178 526

Today the *Cainguá* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guaraní* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances. 178 534 [562] [778] [756] [533] [562]

The flutes of the ancient *Guaraní* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments. [727]

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Cainguá*. The *Paĩ* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Cainguá*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments. [184]

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guaraní*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guaraní* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Cainguá* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire. 272 178 [222]

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Cainguá* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Cainguá* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. 276 [178] [17] [532]

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guaraní* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (kaguiai) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Physurus* sp.). Modern *Cainguá* prepare mead, which may be quite strong. 178 527 [171] 178 273